Huey P. Newton at Boston College Gymnasium - November 18, 1970

I'd like to thank you for my presence tonight because you're responsible. I would be in the maximum security penitentiary, if it were not for the power of the people. So you're responsible and only you. I'd like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman. And Ericka - Free Ericka, Free Angela Davis. Free the N.Y. 21, the Soledad Brothers. Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war - Free the people.

The 28th and 29th of November we will have a People's Revolutionary Convention in Washington, D.C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come. Because after all, the people are the makers of world history. The people are responsible for everything so how can we have a convention if we have no people. Some people think that we can have a People's Convention without the people being there, I think that was the case in 1777.

Tonight I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and also explain to you how we arrived at our ideological position. And why we feel it necessary to institute a 10-point Program. A 10-point Program that is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program. We feel that we're threatened, the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant. Not only in this country but throughout the world, and the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it there must be a total transformation. But until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive. So therefore we need a survival kit. The 10-point Program is a survival kit brothers and sisters. In other words, in other words it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with a mind that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a Breakfast Program for Children. We also have community health programs. We have a program, a bussing program, we call it the Bus for Relatives and Parents of prisoners. Because we realize that the fascist regime who operate the prisons throughout America would like to do their trickery in the dark. If we get the relatives and the parents and the friends to the prisons they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So this too is a survival program. We must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program, because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people, if the people are not here, then of course revolution cannot be achieved. Because the people make revolution. The people make revolution and only the people.

The theme of our People's Revolutionary Convention is Survival Through Service To The People. At the Convention, we will present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit. Or perhaps the kit that is used when a plane falls, and you find yourself in the middle of a sea on a rubber raft. And you would need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a couple of protein tablets in order to last you until you can get to the shore. Until you can get to that Oasis, where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then possibly you will not exist. At this time the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party, the Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. Matter of fact we've drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality and murder of any kind. Matter of fact that we're not going to sit around, we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself then I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because the reactionary set of conditions would cause his death. I repeat, if we do nothing we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is by doing nothing, we're accepting the situation. The situation is a condition of reaction. So therefore reaction will cause our death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still would not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany, we would rather t die the death of the Jews in Warsaw. Yes, because we feel that where there's courage, where there's self-respect and dignity, there's a possibility that we can change all of the conditions. That we can possibly win, and this is called revolutionary enthusiasm. And it is the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee a victory. We say that if we must die then we will die the death of a revolutionary suicide. The revolutionary suicide that says if I'm put down, if I'm driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom, I would much rather be driven out with a stick. Because with the broom when I'm driven out it will humiliate me, and I will loose my self-respect. But if I'm driven out with a stick that at least I can remain with the dignity of a man, and die the death of a man, rather than die the death of a dog. Of course, our real desire is to live. Our real desire is to live, but we will not be cowered, we will not be intimidated.

I would like to explain to you the method that the Black Panther Party used to arrive at our

ideological position and also more than that. I would like to give you a framework, or a process of thinking that might help us solve the problems and the contradictions that exist today. Today the world is very complicated. There are many things in operation at the same time. It reminds me of a little saying: "When I was a boy, what was so was so, what was not was not. Now I am a man, things have changed a lot. Somethings nearly so, others nearly not. It is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem with sanity. We must approach the problem with a method. We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on, really what's going on divorced from our attitudes and emotions that we usually project into a situation. In other words that we'll attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective possible, without accepting dogma. We will let the facts speak for themselves. But we will not remain totally objective, because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to use to serve our interests. So we will become subjective when we apply the knowledge that we received from the external world using the scientific method. But at that time we will admit that we will be subjective. Because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrating theory with practice. And this is what the Black Panther Party is all about. Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names, they call us revisionists. They call us hoodlums, they call us everything but a child of man. But tonight we will answer those people, and I hope all of them have a front seat. Because I would like to have a dialectical argument with them. You know in order to understand a group of forces operating at the same time, science developed what they call a discipline. One of the properties or characteristics of this discipline, first to be disinterested. Not disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem, but disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words you will not promote an outcome, you just want to know the facts. The other thing that science starts off with, a basic premise that is very important, and from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start off with a belief, because its very difficult to test your first premise. But after we agree or stipulate a first premise then we can have an intelligent argument, because then we'll just require each other to be consistent down to a valid conclusion. So tonight I will ask you

to stipulate that an external world exists. An external world exists independently of us, in spite of whether we're around or not. In other words, the external world is a reality. The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change or transformation rather. In other words flux, flux all is flux, after we agree to that we can go on with our discussion. You know scientific method relies heavily upon a concept that they call empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future, that it only tells you about the past. In other words, it can only tell you what you gained through observation and experience and that's always past tense. So therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated a theory developed by Emanual Kant, called rationale. Kant called his process of reasoning "pure reason", because Kant's reasoning did not depend upon the external world, it only depended on consistency. It only depended upon dealing with symbols in such a way where you manipulate them to come up with a conclusion based upon reason. For an example, if the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards I will see the sky. There's nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact that is a truth - but I haven't said anything about the existence of the sky. I said 'if' and that is why with rationale we do not have to depend upon the external world. With empiricism we can tell very little about the future, so what will it do. In order to understand what is happening in the world Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and came up with the concept called dialectical materialism. Because after we integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking, not only are we in touch with that world outside of us, we also can explain that constant of transformation. And therefore make some predictions about the outcome of phenomena that's ont only in constant change, but also in conflict, attempting to reach some harmony. You know also Marx as a social scientist, criticized other social scientists, because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena or part of phenomena by taking it out of its environment, isolating it and putting it into a category. And not letting anyone know about the fact that once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment, the phenomena was transformed, it was not the same. In other words a discipline such as sociology where we would study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and groups fall apart. Without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that is connected to the group we will get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So what Marx attempted to do was to develop

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a way of thinking that would explain phenomena. In the physical world when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics I think they say when two atoms collide, they divide into protons and neutrons, if I remember correctly. What happened to the atom, it was transformed. In the social world the same thing happens or a similiar thing. We can apply the same principle. In sociology when two cultures collide a process occurs or a condition occurs that I believe the sociologists call acculturation. Where two cultures are modified because of the contact. Well Marx called the social forces, when the social forces collided or classes, he called that a contradiction. In the physical world, when two physical forces collide sometimes we call it just that - a collision. For an example, when two cars meet head on, trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed. Sometimes other things happen. Matter of fact had those two cars been turned back to back and sped off in opposite directions, they would not be having a contradiction, they would be contrary, covering different spaces at different times. Sometimes when people meet we argue and we miss each other. We miss each other because, in the first place we think that we're having a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For an example, I would say the wall is 10 feet tall and you would say the wall is red. And we would argue all day, thinking that we're having a contradiction, when actually we're being contrary. When people argue and when one offers a thesis and the other offers an anti-thesis we say there's a contradiction. And we hope that if we argue long enough, provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope that we can have some kind of synthesis.

And tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party. I think that the mistake is, either some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact. In spite of their claim to scholarly research, in spite of their claim to following the discipline of dialectical materialism. They failed to search deeper like a scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I'll explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party. Because we follow the dialectical method, and integrat theory with practice. But we are not, we are not mechanical Marxists. And we're not historical materialists. Some people think they're Marxists when actually they're following the thought of Hegel. Some people think they're Marxist-Leninists and they refuse to be cre

be creative. So therefore they're tied to the past, they're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that edges above dogma. And what we sometimes call flunkyism. Marx attempted to set up a framework, just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain phenomena, and after you learn somethings about a particular set of conditions, then you try to move on and apply that framework to other things, or those principles. And you're not afraid about the outcome, because you know that things change, and you're willing to acknowledge the change, because you're objective. Because you realize the method that you were using, if you were using the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it the last time, because then that's history. And if things are in a constant state of change, we would not expect for them to be the same. So therefore words we used to describe the old phenomena, perhaps would be useless to describe the new. And if we used the old words to describe the past event, then we might confuse people. They might think things are static and therefore contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism. In 1917 an event occurred in the Soviet Union. It was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country in 1970 the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algieria, wrote the phamplet and it was called on Panther Ideology. In that work Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletariet in this country at this time, or the industrial worker does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claimed that the left-wing of the proletariet, the lumpenproletariet, carried that potentiality. And in fact will carry the people of the world to the final climax in the transformation of society. And therefore will act as the vanguard. It has been stated, it has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor that it is impossible, how can the lumpenproletariet carry out a successful socialist transformation, when they're only a minority. And in fact how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out a successful socialist revolution. I would agree, I would agree that it is necessary for the people who carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people. I would agree to that. In the Soviet Union, 1917 we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that in this country that it will take a pou

take a popular force to achieve the transformation. But I also agree that the lumpenproletarians are actually the minority in the country, no disagreements. It seems that I've contradicted myself. That only goes to show that what's apparent, might not actually be a fact. Sometimes we think a thing is really a contradiction and its only paradoxical, it might seem what it is not you see. So what we will do is tear this think apart, we'll analyze it. That in the Soveit Union 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, they had a very large peasantry there was a set of social conditions existing there at that time, that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them proletarians. Lenin using Marx's theory saw the trends because he was not a historical materialist, he was a dialectical materialist, and therefore he was very interested in the ever changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge, and the peasantry was on the decline. That's one of the conditions, the proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution. In this country, the Black Panther Party, taking careful note of the dialectical method. Taking careful note of the social trends and the ever changing nature of things, see that while the lumpenproletarians are a minority and the proletarians are a majority and also that technology is developing at such a rapid rate, that we'll start with automation, go to cybernation and then go from there probably into technocracy. As I came into town I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they would go on developing their technological machinery. They will go on developing their technological machinery because in the capitalists hands and the ruling circle's hands, he's not interested in the people. So therefore I would expect from him the logic that he's always followed. That is to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible. Unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately and I say this because the trend is that technology is making leaps. Made a leap all the way to the moon. So therefore I say that if the ruling circle remains in power, the proletarian worker, the proletarian working class will definately be on the decline. Because they will be unemployables and therefore swell the ranks of

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lumpen who are unemployables. Unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them anymore. So every worker is in jeapordy because of the rule of the ruling circle. And this is why that we say that the lumpenproletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and in fact will carry the revolution out probably. And in the near future will be the popular class, the majority. Of course, I would not like to see all of my people unemployed or unemployables. But being objective, because we're objective, because we're dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts. And that's all we're doing.

You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly he said society goes from a slave class, a feudal calss structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialist class structure. And finally to communism. Or in other words from socialist state to capitalistic state to a non-state - communism. I think we can all agree and I will ask for a stipulation. That virtually the slave class in the world has been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, a slave in the world no longer exists as a significant force. And if we can agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear just be transformed and take on other characteristics. Then its also true that the proletarian or the industrial working class can possible be transformed out of existence. Of course the people would not disappear, they will only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in, is the fact that the ruling circle will not need him. And if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production, then he will be called an unemployable or a lumpen. So I think that's logical, I think that's dialectical, I think it would be very strange to say only the slave class could disappear. You know Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist, because he said this, he said "one thing I'm not, I'm not a Marxist". In other words he was trying to war, he was trying to tell Progressive Labor not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future, and therefore act in an intelligent way so as to bring about the revolution that we all want. After taking those things under consideration. We see that as time changes, and as the world is transformed that we need some new definitions to the situation. Because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore they will get a fallicious picture of the world. They will think that the

world is static. I would be very amazed, I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 would still be in existence today. Matter of fact you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact they looked at toil and working for your necessities as somewhat of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory after he put Marx's analysis into practice was geared to get rid of the proletariet. In other words that by the proletarian class or the working class seizing the means of production, they would plan in such a way so that they would be freed from the toil. Matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds like to to me that he saw a proletarian working class, transformed so that they could have that free block of time, so that they could indulge in productive creativity. So that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation. So that they could have the happiness, the freedom and the pleausre that man seems to seek and avlue. At this time the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletariet. In fact that group of men will be so small until we would have to explain the other people. We will have to come up with another definition. Now sometimes when we theorize, we can argue all day, we can argue all day and if we have no practical application of the theory we will come up with nothing worth while. So I'm saying that in spite of the criticism that we've received from certain people, we say in practice many of our activities would be the same. That is because people will not disappear not with our survival program they will not. They would not disappear, they will still be around, so therefore, we need to lift their consciousness so that they can deal with the ruling circle. We must lift their consciousness whether they are working in a factory or already been kicked out. So therefore the Black Panther Party says it's perfectly correct to organize the proletariat. Because after he's kicked out of the factory, because he will be unemployable or lumpen, doesn't stop, doesn't transform his interest. His interest is to live, and in order to live he has to eat. So its best that he should seize the machinery that he has produced, so that he can produce the abundance so he had his brothern cal live. Now I'm saying that we will not wait until the proletarian, becomes the lumpenproletarian to educate him.

Today we must lift the consciousness of the people so that we get a clear picture of what is to be done. We need to know that, because the wind is rising, and the rivers flow, times are getting hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to our mother's womb, nor can we go back to 1917. As the United States or what I like to call North America was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire, because an empire is a nation transformed. It caused a total change in the world, because no part of a thing interrelated can be change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States or North America became an empire it changed the whole composition, it changed the whole phenomena in the world. There were other nations in the world. But empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire, or the imperialists control all other nations. Now some time ago in history there existed a phenomena called, well I call primitive empire. That was the Roman empire, because the Romans controlled all the known world, but in fact they did not know all of the world, so therefore some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land. In modern days I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world, or affect that part that it doesn't control so much, until we would call that control. We also see, we also see that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words while one force may give raise to one thing, it might crush other things, or even crush itself. In other words we might have a concept we call the negation of the negation. In other words, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism, they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. We would have to have some centralization of the wealth, we would like to have some equal distribution of the wealth. We would have to have some harmony between the people. So the United States' ruling circle, while it changed the whole world, while it rules the whole world, world. And when I say nation, and when I say nation, I will roughly give you some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. First, economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety. The United States has violated every country in the world, every nation in the world, and therefore transforming that nation, trahsforming the nation into what?

We'll talk about that later on. When the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966, we called ourselves, we called the Party a Black Nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black Nationalists because we though nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more we found that it was impractical and even in contradiction. So therefore we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free, and this is what we really want - to be free, we thought that the nation would make us free. We saw that in order to be free, we had to crush the ruling circle and therefore we had to unite with the people of the world so we called ourselves internationalists. We sought solidarity with the people of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything is in a constant state of change and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialists, because of the fact that the United States is no logger a nation but an empire, that nationhood did not exist. Because they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Because their self-determination was transformed, because their economic determination was transformed. All of the nations were transformed at the hand of the imperialists and the ruling circle for the interest of the imperialists. So we found that in order to be an internationalist, we had to be also a nationalist or at least acknowledge nationhood. So all internationalists are also nationalists because if I understand that word, "inter" means some interrelationship between things. And "nationalism' or nationhood, means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now if no nation is in existence, and if in fact the United States is an empire that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists, we are no longer internationalists and we're not afraid of that. Matter of fact we will try to shed light upon it, and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena, and we will call ourselves - intercommunalists. Because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. So tonight the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim internationalism and support intercommunalism. We have a problem, we have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information that they had, that when non-state finally became a reality, it would be caused or ushered in by the people and by communism. A strange thing happened, the ruling reactionary circle, through the process of being an imperialist, transformed the world to what we call reactionary intercommunalism. Because the ruling circle

has laid seige on all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that people are not served by the institutions in their land. What the Black Panther Party would like to establish. To reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of revolutionary intercommunalism. This will be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and the technology in a legalitarian way to the many communities of the world. We see very little difference - in what happens to a community here in North American, and what happens to a community in Vietnam; we see very little difference in what happens even culturally to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong; we see very little difference in what happens to a Black community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa, a Black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished but its reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions that serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation because the community evolves around a greater structure, that we usually call a State. And the state has certain controls over the community. It also serves the community, if the administration represent the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It is not so at this time, so there's still something to be done.

I said earlier, I spoke about the negation of the negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of the wealth. We think its very important to know that in the world today, that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also I would say socialism would not exist anyplace in the world. I would say that socialism does not exist anyplace in the world, because socialism requires a socialist state. And if state doesn't exist then how can socialism exist. So how do we define certain progressive countries, such as the People's Republic of China; how do we describe certain progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the North Korean people; how do we define certain communities as the Vietnamese people, North and the Provisional Government in the South. How do we explain these communities, if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood. We say this, we say they represent the people's liberated territory, they represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied. Just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only grounds of preparation for the liberation of the world, the

seizing of wealth from the ruling circles and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve, with the help of the power of the people because without the people tothing would be achieved. Now I said - I'm going to start a question and answer period because I go on for hours and hours and that I loose track of time - But see I just got a note it says start your question and answer. But I want to say this first. I said that in the United States that socialism would not exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States, you would have to have a redistribution of wealth not on a national level, but on an international national level - not on an international level but an intercommunal level. And this is because how can you say that you have accomplished revolution and redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America, when the ruling circle itself is guilty of trespass de bonus aspertitus. That is, the taking an away of the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America and used them as their very own. That is a tort. Now remember in 1917 when the revolution occurred you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level, because nations existed you see. Now if you have to think in terms of planning an economy on a world-wide level, on an intercommunal level, that says something. That says that the people have have been ripped off and its very much like the people in one country being ripped off, and when the people sieze the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this, we say how, reparations will not even serve, because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, their raw materials have also been invested; their raw materials have been made into a technological machine. The people are responsible for that, so the people of the world will have to have control of that. Not for 'X' amount of time, not for a limited amount of time, but its theirs. So all I can see in order to plan a real intercommunal economy, we would have to acknowledge how the world is hooked-up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that some time ago, nations could exist because technology had not advanced to the level that its advanced to now. Some people would argue that nations still exist because of the cultural differences. By way of definition just for functional argument, culture the collection or learned patters of behavior - learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States, Black people - Africans were raped from the mother country, were brought here and we've literally lost most of our African values, perhaps we still hold

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onx to some surviving Africanisms. But by and large you can see the transformation. This was achieved through a long stay, but also through the highly xxxxxxxxxx technological society that has a tremendous xxx mass media, an indoctrination center. We see that the ruling circle has also launched satillites to put the beam across the world, to indoctrinate the worldx. We see that while there might be what we call cultural differences, the differences is not a xxx qualitative difference, but a quantative difference. In other words that if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are going now that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt western values. I think Japan is a good example. And the differences between people, in fact, are getting very xxx small, but again its in the interest of the ruling circle. I don't believe that history can be backtracked, you see. So if the world is that interconnected then we would have to x acknowledge that and say that in order fo the people to be free then they would have to control the institutions xx in their community. And also have some form of representative in the technological center that they produced. So the United xx States will have to, in order to correct the robbery of the workd, would have to first return that; so I don't see where we can talk about socialism, when we're talking about world redistribution. I think this is what Marx talked about when he was talking about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house sometime ago. And he talked to me about his search for his past, he found it in Africa, but he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. Hi village hadn't xxx changed very much. But when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road, and he had something to his ear that he cherished, that was a small transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting network. So what I'm trying to say, the mass media plus the development of transportation, makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves x in terms of separate entities as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to x get here from San Francisco. It only takes about 10 hours to get from here to Vietnam. We see that ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars, they call them police actions. They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are rioting. What I'm saying , what I'm saying is that the ruling circle accepts, they realize what they've done. They know that its one world, but they're determined to follow that logic of exploitation. They know because a short time ago in Detroit, a community was under seige. And now 16 members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid seige on that xxxxxxxx community and that

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house, and they used the weapons, the same weapons that they used in Vietnam. Matter of fact two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens, we see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and they use the same tools, they're there for the same purpose that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. We say that it is ture, it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community, but we're not satisfied where the power is, we want power for the people. I said earlier and I strayed away, that the theory of the negation of the negation negation is very valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa and Latin America the resistences always seek the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective society. And some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical materialism. Why won't they go from feudalism, develop a capitalist base and finally go into socialism. They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the Black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism. The Black community in Oakland or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism, because the imperialists have already pre-empted the field, he's already centralized the wealth. So therefore in order to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community and then move on him as a collective force. You know we had long arguments with people, we used to call ourselves, before we became conscouss, a dispersed collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, and they told me how can you possibly be a colony, in order to be a colony you have to be a nation. And you're not a nation you're just a community, you're a dispersed collection of communities. And because the Black Panther Party is not embarassed to change or be transformed. Tonight I would like to accept your criticism and say that you're absolutely right. That we're a collection of communities just as the people of the world represent a collection of communities. Just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities, a dispersed collection of communities. Because they have no superstructure, or they do have a superstructure, the superstructure or the industrial base that they labored to produce was all put on Wall Street. And we'll all agree that once a particular land or a particular people centralized their wealth and create a capitalistic base, we won't find that in every single community, you see, because every single community would not have the resources, because its already been centralized. Sort of a distorted form of collectivity,

you see. Everything's been collected, but its used for the interest of the ruling circle. So after the things are collected then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off. And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces Black capitalism and say that all we can do is liberate our communities, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea. But the people of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, state itself would no longer exist. And we'll have communism. But we cannot do this right away. Because we know that in sociology we say that when a structural change takes place, the result is usually a cultural lag. In other words after the people possess the means of production, we'll probably not move directly into communism, but we will probably linger with revolutionary intercommunalism until such time that we can wash away bourgeoisie thought; until such time that we can wash away racism, and reactionary thinking. And until such time that people are not attached to their nation, as a peasant is attacked to the soil. Until such time that the people can gain their sanity and develop a society that's "Essentially Human", that will serve the people, instead of serve some god, you see. It will be necessary to do that because we cannot avoid contact with each other, we cannot avoid contact with each other because of a changing set of conditions. So because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.

So tonight I think I've covered some of what I had to say. I will allow you to talk. We'll have a question and answer period. But before I do that I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, asked me to petition you, to ask you to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. And also I would like to thank the people of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to preside in their liberated communities, in their liberated territory. So they've actually set the example for us, we know what we have to do in order to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our community. Alright - for real, we're going to have a question and answer period before everyone leaves.

QUESTION; The first think I'd like to say is fuck Karl Marx, fuck Lenin, and say something about racism. Because racism is what started the Black Panther Party. Racism is the reason we're in the perdicament that we're in now and I don't think you can relate something that was

written in the 19th century to what is taking place now...I don't see how you can correlate something that's happening here with the Russian revolution or the Bolshevick in 1917.. Racism and its the cause of our problem.

HUEY: I agree with part of that. I hate to try to quote a long statement because I like to give fair representation. So I'll say a paraphrase and if I'm wrong then you speak again. The brother, the class brother, the objective brother. In other words I would like to explain something. First that there's two kinds of enemies. There's both an objective enemy and then there's an subjective enemy. Sometimes, most of the times the subjective enemy is really a class friend, you see. Only the objective enemy, or one who has a completely different interest than you is really your real enemy. So he's objectively your enemy, because he can advance at your expense. While this subjective enemy will hurt you, but he's only hurting you because of lack of consciousness. So you treat those contradictions differently. With the objective enemy you try to destroy him. With the subjective enemy you try to teach him and make him conscious. You can do this most of the time through understanding and love.

So first I applauded that brother, not because I agree with everything he said, but because I recognize him as an objective class friend . And I think his statements are based upon a lack of understanding. His statement was this, and he's partially right. He said "Fuck Karl Marx, he said fuck Lenin, he said fuck everything that you have a said Huey, because the real problem today is nothing more than racism." Now let's analyze that. First what is racism. Racism is an attitude a value, racism is a way of thinking and relating to people. Racism is something that's caused by something else. Because what I would like for you to stipulate is that values and attitudes all come from something else, and that is the material. You cannot have racism, without having a man, you cannot have racism without having another set of conditions that would produce racism. So this is what we would like to explain. That we did not have racism as such, in the eleven hundreds according to Basil Davidson and Melvin J. Herskovich, who wrote the Myth of the Negro Past and Black Mother. We said, according to those historians, that Europe and Africa had an equal relationship. Mutual respect where many of the writers respected the African so, until he was sure that the Universities of Timbuktu was the cultural center of the world. But then something else happened, the world changed. The world changed and it became profitable for the ruling circle in Europe and Spain and Portugual. It became profitable and also became a possibility that they could travel

to the mother country with gun fire stolen from the Chinese, kidnap the African take him to their country and scatter him throughout the world. In order for him to labor. And in order to justify their conscious, they developed an attitude of racism. So therefore, so therefore, the greed for money, the greed for profit established racism. The greed for profit established racism because the European needed labor and so therefore because of probably his distorted form of religion. He kidnapped the African South of Sahara. Now if you think that values and attitudes can exist independently of material. Then show me how you can have a value or any man can have an attitude without having a body. Is the body not material. So therefore I say all spiritual things come from the material, all intangible things come from the material so while what my brother says seems to be correct, in fact, its incorrect. In order to change the spiritual we have to change the material. In order to change racism, we have to change the racist, capitalistic structure. When we cahnge this through solidarity of the people of the world, we'll attempt to launch, we'll attempt to create a culture and a value system that's "Essentially Human" Why do I say this, because all of us are changing anyway. There's nothing that's static. Fluc, flux all is flux. We cannot return to Africa in the eleven hundreds and nor can anyone return to a time that's already past. It is impossible. Because we cannot return to the past we have to look for a solution in the future. And it's simple thinking to just go around spouting words without analyzing the phenomena around us. That is why I took so much time to give a framework of thinking so that perhaps brother you could go home and analyze that and know that in order to stop racism you would have to stop the domination of the capitalist. Because he don't hate you because something came out of thesky and said hate him. He hates you brother because he can use that hate to indoctrinate some other white people to corral you so he can exploit both of you. Now everything has a dual character, everything has a dual character, and I'm in research now and perhaps I'll find that my hypothesis was wrong or perhaps I'll find it is right. Now the gentleman said, my class brother said, the brother whom I love said. The brother whom I will attempt to educate tonight siad that fuck Karl Marx, because its irrelevant. Well I won't say that, but I'll say this and I'm in research now, to try and find out something. Because the brother also said that down with dialectics, because its not important. It doesn't give us anything. And I will say this, I would doubt very

seriously, I would doubt seriously, whether Karl Marx was the first to expound upon dialectics. Dialectis is actually trying to explain the clashing of forces. It also explains the dual character of things and the interrelationship of things. The University of Timbuktu, and even before that time, even before that time it is acknowledged by the anthropologists. That the African South of Sahara had a religion that they called dualism. While in Europe they subscribed to absolutism. That is in Africa South of Sahara our god then had two or more heads. He had a head for good, a head for evil, a head for fertility, a head for love and a head for hate. And the African then would attempt to manipu;ate these heads so that he could convince the one, the good, to give him what he wanted and outmanouver the bad. And I would think that this was the start of the dialectical method. I say that its strange that in Greece that the Greeks had also a form of dualism. I have found that first in Europe you had generally absolutism where the god had one head. That is he's absolutely good, that he's not evil, he had no sexual qualities and so forth. In other words he deviated from the likeness of man. And we all know that man creates his god. So what I'm trying to get at, is that why did the Greeks have a dual form, why did the Greeks have a dual form. And yet that the other caucasians did not. Its probably because Aristotle travelled to the University of Timbuktu and was educated by the African. So took it back to the Greeks and established the type of religion that the Greeks had. And perhaps this went around to some scholars and this was the start of the dialectical method and this is only a speculation. But as soon as I finish I will let this young lady - maybe - I don't know - she looks very angry - she might not be objective and I can't deal with emotions. But I strayed away from something though. I would like to say this . Here in America, racism is rampant and we will have to do something about that. And we see that many of our objective class brothers act in a way that will harm Black people, in other words they're subjectively our enemy. And I would like to use the hard-hats as an example. The hard-hats are exploited, they're becoming seasonally employed in other words, they're well on their way to be unemployables and instead of blaming their master, they blame us for it. So because that contradiction is different than the objective enemy, we will try to first educate the hard-hat. We will try to lift their consciousness, it is basically our white radical friend's responsibility to do this. Now if we cannot convince the hard-hats, through dialectical argument. Then we have to use stronger stuff because even if a man is

objectively our friend and subjectively our enemy. We have to preserve ourselves. Until such time that we can educate him because we will not let insanity prevail. So in order to insure that sanity will remain here. We might have to take the head of the insane man. But when we do this we are weakened, if he happens to be our class brother because it would diminish us. It would diminsih us because it would diminish our number you see. But we have to defend ourselves, because if we do not do that then that would mean that we would let an insane man prevail. As long as there is one ounce of sanity in the world there is a hope for the new world, and this is why we must down fascism.

QUESTION: Explain why wome people call the Party revisionists.

HUEY: Well first we must understand words. Did everyone hear the brother's question? The brother would like it explained, why some people would say the Party is revisionist. Is that true? Well first a revisionist is someone that has revised the theories of Marxism-Leninism - alright. And tried to say that he's still a socialist you see. Now I would like to say something how revisionism differs from Marxism. Karl Marx had a vision, and then Trotsky had a revision. But the Black Panther Party/is now having a new vision with intercommunalism. If anyone revises that then he will be a revisionist.

QUESTION: I just want to make a few comments, the first thing Huey, you are not my enemy (I love you sister) - I love you too. You said a lot of beautiful things tonight. Can I make a few comments - I appreciate the beautiful things you said tonight, but I say this, you don't come here to educate brother, w e learn from each other - and see you said a lot of things. You didn't have to start with Marx.....because communism comes from Africa. communism. The sister launches criticism against Huey for using big words, for being hard to understand and for not giving enough credit to Africa for being the beginning of man, and for saying certain things about god.

HUEY: Sister, your first point I believe you said that socialism came from Africa. I agree with that because even Marx himself acknowledges that, at a point in history, before modern technology, before industry that we had socialism in Africa, because we had an economy based upon collectivity, we had an economy based upon sharing. But this is not and was not modern socialism. It wasn't modern by a way of definition, because I do not say that the eleven hundreds is the same as nineteen-seventy. We have to make some distinction in order to under-

stand the passage of time. Or else we'll get confused. So all I'm saying is that socialism actually did exist in the mother country South of Sahara, before Marx even was born. But the new kind or the kind that we're talking about today is based upon a society that happens to be urban. Its based upon a society that has a large base where many people work together under one boss. And in order to return the wealth to thepeople, we have to have a technique. And Lenin instituted that technique. So he applied the modern theory that Marx probably got from Timbuktu, because I've already acknowledged that I believe in dualism, or the start of the dialectical method might have come from South of Sahara. So the sister misunderstood me I believe. Now I would like to apologize if anyone here did not understand the words I used. It shows how difficient, it shows how uneducated, it shows how I have such an inability to communicate until its difficult for me to convey ideas. Now words are only for the purpose to get an understanding so my fellow man can understand me. If you don't then I have failed, you haven't. So I deserve the criticism that the sister gave me. But now she needs to teach me how to speak in a better way, in a better way so I and I say better and I qualify that by saying a more effective way. So that I can communicate with my little brothers over there. Now the other thing is this. Is that she said that god gives everyone everything. And I say that is correct. But I will say this, I would say that without a man, I can't see where you'd have the intangible. You produce your god. You produce your god because you produced him probably in your own image. And I say this, I say this, I say any spiritual thing, any spiritual thing that is produced, will have to come from some material source. So the concept of god, the concept of god cannot exist independently of man. So I say I believe in god, I believe in god because its commonly accepted that the cause is greater than the effect. If man caused god, then man is greater than god, because he can create, he can create his spiritual world. And I also go farther than that, I cannot explain the first existence of things or the first event. We do not know that yet. But we do know this, and its commonly accepted in the discipline of antrhopology. Before man stood erect, before man could really be called man, he was something else. In other words, he was trasnformed with the passage of time, he was transformed because somehow that he had a mind that abled him to transform his body. According to Dr. Leake, the cradle of man, the cradle of man is Africa South of Sahara and the name of the missing link is probably Zynzanthropist. This is commonly agreed that all people probably had an African genesis. But that's only

objective fact, if it is a fact. Much of it is speculation, because we don't know enough. But after we know these things. What does it mean. Does it mean that because man had an African genesis that people should slaughter each other on the basis of color? No. I say this, I say when people harm each other its a sin against god, because its a sin against man. So I say this and I say this with love, I say this with respect, I say this with guidance and respect for you. Mater of fact supreme respect. I respect you, I respect you more than I respect your god. And I say this sister, I say this with love. I say you and your god can kiss my behind because man is mind. Now after we finish that, we're not going to run around being drunk on religion, because we accept that religion is like that bad wine or like opium. Religion is the opium of the masses. They only accept that because they can't get what they really need. So I'm going to get for that sister what she needs, so she won't have to depend upon the god in the sky, because I don't trust him. But sister, you can trust these strong arms, they will bring the man down who is causing your trouble. You will not have to rely upon a spirit in order to get your salvation. The more you make of your god, the less you become. The more you become, the less your god becomes. Kill your god and you become a man. You'll become a strong man. You'll become the man that can create the new world, that we'll call communism. Jumping from revolutionary intercommunalism. We can only do this with the confidence we have in ourselves, because somexpexons person's god might do what the white racist's god did for him. He sealed up a note and put it in his pocket and told him he had a right to kill. There's no way we can test that, there's no way we can deal with racism, other than to deal with it objectively. We have to deal with it, we have to deal with it rationally. We cannot deal with it and be affect so much by it until we loose all of our ratinalx thinking. Because if we do this then the ruling circle, which is by definition racis, will get the final victory. Because as far as I'm concerned, there's no such thing as a Black racism, Black people are only victims to racism. And because we're victims to racism, that many times it destroys us. But we refuse to be destroyed. In other words we will not go insane xxon in spite of the brutality of racism. When this happens it just puts us in a position where we have to depend upon something, something supernatural to solve our problems. Because we feel so much victim to the white racism racist in America. But I say this that we will restore sanity to an insane situation. That we will restore love to the world be-

cause the

cause the reactionary ruling circle has created an atmosphere of hate. We will say even when we have to defend ourselves. Even when we have to kill, we will weep for the man, we will weep because the death of any man diminishes us. Because we're involved with mankind. We will not hesitate to defend ourselves. And this is why the Vietnamese people when they shoot down an American plane, when the plane crashes and the pilot is dead. They very carefully bury the pilot, put flowers on his grave every week. A reporter asked the Vietnamese people why do you do this? And they say, first we're sorry that he was duped to come over here. He was duped by the ruling circle. Because we have the same interest and we want to preserve his grave so that his people can come and take him home again. Because we are for the people of America. We are for the African people, we're for all people, but we're against the reactionary, racist ruling circle. And we refuse to be overcome by it. So all I'm saying - I'm not saying that racism does not exist. I'll say that most white people in America are racist. I'll say most white people in America are racist, I'll say all are affected by racism. I say that I am very, very careful when I see a person who has been so victimized by racism, until they always talk in terms of color. Black and White, hate White and love Black, he thinks he's talking in opposites, but really he's not talking in opposites, but really he's not talking in opposites. Because love and hate grows from the same source and that is involvement. The difference between love and hate is indifference. And I say if a Black man lives in America he's going to have a very difficult time time to be objective to step out of that realm of emotion to step out of love and hate. And he can't be indifferent because the white world has too much effect upon him. So what he has to do is develop a strategy. He has to develop a tactic in order to seize the power. And when he seizes the power because we love, we will not necessarily look for revenge. But we will take the master off his high horse and make him equal, and all war criminals will be punished. But the people will decide that, because as far as I'm concerned, I'll persuade you, I'll persuade you only to take what is yours and then let the man live. Take his power, but don't take his life. Now we must understand the difference between the violence of the oppressor and the self-defense of the victim. The Black Panther Party says the Vietnamese people's National Liberation Front are only using self-defense because violence was iniated and aggression was iniated by the fascist police working for the ruling circle who preside here in North America. So it is all of our right to defend ourselves and much of the time aggression takes many forms, it takes many forms. Its not always by the

violecnviolence of a service revolver, its not always the type of violence that took the life of Little Bobby Hutton. Its not always the type of violence that has been taking Black people's lives for many years, according to Melvin J. Herskovich fifty millino Black people died in the middle passage alone. Violence is not - direct violence by weapons is not always, it does not always come from a revolver or a bomb that killed many Japanese people on Hiroshima and Nagasaka. It sometimes comes in the form of depriving a man of his self-respect. It comes in the form of depriving a man of the work that he needs in order to live, of the health care that is needed in order to live. This violence is as treacherous and much of the time more difficult to bear than the sudden violence. Where life will be ended in a minute. So we feel that we have the right, we have the right to defend ourselves in the name of preserving man. Because each man, each man has an obligation to carry life on, it is an original obligation, because if man had not live and multiplied we would not have a society today. So when we see a fascist fool attempting to murder the world, we can deal with him in anyway that we choose, in order to guarantee the long life of man. May man prevail forever! May man prevail forever! Power to the people!

I think I lost about half of my audience, so are you ready to go home? (No) Alright - questions.

QUESTION: Huey I have a question from a brother operating the equipment here - he says needless to say our society today is controlled by a system of cooperative capitalism... capitalism... in an essay on liberation states that if a revolution were to take place and in fact be successful, that there would have to be a total change in the nature of man himself. Do you agree or disagree and explain if possible.

HUEY: I agree, man is changing all the time. Because if I were to stay static I would not be subscribing to dialectical materialism. So therefore its quite true.

QUESTION: What is your opinion of the Socialist Workers Party in America?

HUEY: The Socialist Workers Party. I think that sometime, I think that sometimes the SWP might tend to be somewhat historical in their approach. I think that sometime they tend to theorize without thinking it necessary to develop a survival program. And this is why I believe they criticized us for developing what they called reformist programs. So I would say that as far as the SWP is concerned that we would like to get an understanding and work together because surely, we're not objective enemies. There must be some misunder-

standing of the phenomena. So maybe they can help us and we can help them. Because what we want to do is understand the world so that the people, so that the people can get what is theirs. I'm not here to shoot anyone down, I'm not here to out-argue anyone. I'm here to be educated and I'm sure that we can become educated, we can become educated through dialectical argument. And this is all, and I realize this that I don's speak very well. But it reminds me of what Fidel Castro told Jean Paul Sarte. Sarte - I think it was in "Ninty Miles from Home shortly after the Cuban revolution. Sarte was riding in a jeep with Fidel and people were constantly running in front of the jeep - the peasants and they would stop the jeep ask Fidel for this and for that and Fidel would write it down and talk to them a while and keep going. And then Sarte said "Do you feel that you must give them everything they ask for?" And Fidle said "Yes." Then Sartre said "What if they ask you for the moon?" Fidel said "I would attempt to give it to them, if I can't that would prove that I'm a poor administrator and I should not have my job. Because the people do not claim to be theoriticians, politicians, philosophers. They want to live. And if you present yourself as a leader or theoritician, then you must give them what they want." So he said this, and I say tonight to people that if I cannot communicate so that you can understand, that is because I am a bad theoritician. And I will go home and I will study very hard so that I can communicate better. This is all that I can do.

QUESTION: We have to have strategy and tactics, but must not this strategy and tactics be indiginously produced at home from Black people. And also I question your methods about organizing working class whites, who have proven the most conscious racist in America. Shouldn't we develop our own ideology, instead of importing something from Marx and Lenin because Marxism-Leninism hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it hasn't worked in China and any place else it hasn't worked. (Huey - that's right) So why are we importing an unworkable ideology - why can't we produce our own. Don't we have vast resources to produce our own ideology - Can't we deal with something outside of dialectics.

Huey: Do you have an ideology (Do I have ideologies) Do you have one I said (I am developing one) - Alright then after you develop that ideology, after you develop that ideology if it proves to serve the people and it proves to give us a solution to the problem. Then I will adopt your ideology and drop my African ideology. And I emphasize African because I stated earlier, if I remember correctly, that I believe the dialectical method probably started South of Sahara. And I also said - went further than that and said, not only did that philoso-

phy and that theory start South of Sahara, I said that the genesis of man was probably started South of Sahara, According to Dr. Leake and other reputible anthropologists. So we're not talking about Marx or we're not talking about Lenin, but we're talking about understanding the phenomena of the world. So what I'm saying is that if the genesis of man was from South of Sahara that means that everything after that had an African genesis. Now perhaps my first assumption is wrong I don't know. But whether it is, or is not I can't see what difference it makes. I would agree with this, that man is a homo sapien or of the same species and because he's of the same species that means that he is more alike than different. What we have to do is find out what is harming us or what's provoking us and crush it because that's the simpliest and realist act. And this is what we need to do. But I am not going to stand here tonight, I am not going to stand here tonight or any other time and say that if a theory happened to come from Frantz Fanon, if a theory happened to come from a man who happened to be born in Europe and a man who we would define as a caucasion, that doesn't automatically invalidate that theory. As far as the white working class, I said that the proletarians do not have the po potentiality to carry out a successful revolution, even thoug they had in Russia. I also said this that the Russian territory might only be - at the most its only liberated territory - so because a thing has not worked in the past, because a theory has not worked in the past that does not mean that it won't work in the future. In other words, perhaps it hasn't reached its final climax. And that's what I calim. I calim that the only way that communism can work, the only way that revolutionary intercommunalism can work to the interest of the people. First there's a prerequesit, we have to down the ruling circle. Because a slave can never run away from the master. A slave cannot divorce himself from the master, in order to better his situation, that he has to transform the master, he has to take away the master's power. Pull him down off his high horse and make him equal. Because if he does not do that, he will never be safe, he will never be safe because as long as the master exists, as long as the master exists, he will be in danger. So I think this as long as reactionary, racist, capitalism exists, the people of the world will be in danger. So I will not accept a solution such as is given many times, that is let's separate. I say that how can we separate into 5 states in the United States when the ruling circle will not let my people ten thousand miles away, ten thousand miles away in South Africa separate? He's

fell

followed us all over the world. So the biblical verse is very appropriate here, the biblical verse is very appropriate that is "I ran to the mountain to hide my face, the mountain cried out no hiding place". So I'm not going to run to Africa because I know the imperialists presence is in Africa. I know that its present in Latin America, I know that its present in Asia; I know that he's present in Europe and he's running amuck in America. So in order to change the situation, we cannot run away, but we must attack and I say that will show not only a certain amount of courage, it will prove very difficult for the ruling circle to deal with. Because the people of the world are popular. The people of the world represent the majority. So therefore, I'm very, very optimistic. It's called revolutionary optimism. I'm sure that we will down the imperialist, transform society. And also I'm relatively sure that the vanguard group, that the vanguard group will be Black people - not in Africa, but Black people here in America. Black people here in America because Black people in American are probably the most progressive people in the world. Because of our history, sociologists have concluded that people with a long unbroken history tned to be somewhat chauvinistic, because they are tied to the past. And this is why the Chinese people destroyed everything over 17 years old because they said it tied them to the past - to tradition, and to Chaing Ki Shek. So therefore they destroyed most of their history. So what I'm saying is this, I said earlier everything has a dual character and everything has many sides and brother that's dialectical, but also African. So that's one of my surviving Africanisms. Because the Africans always viewed things as two-sided they didnt' view them as absolute. So brother if you think in absolutes, if you say all white people are absolutely bad, then you're being very European because the African would say that he's probably both bad and good at the same time. And what I would try to do is figure out what quality overshadowed the other and then try to deal with that. So what I'm really trying to say is that we have to understand the totality of the world in order to get the real picture. Because if we only understand a portion of it, then we're taking things out of its context and we're acting like the psychologists and the sociologists who claims to come up with truths after he isolates certain variables - Wait a minute, I'm talking bullshit, I can't communicate because I tend to be too academic. Power to the people brothers and sisters.

HUEY'S MESSAGE AT BOSTON COLLEGE
November 18, 1970

Power to the people, brothers and sisters. I would like to thank you for my presence tonight because you are responsible. I would be in a maximum security penitentiary if it weren't for the power of the people. So you're responsible, and only you.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman. Free Ericka, free Angela Davis. Free the New York 21, the Soledad Brothers. Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Free the people. (applause).

The 28th and 29th of November we will have a People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention in Washington D'C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come. Because, after all, the people are the makers of world history. The people are responsible for everything. So how can we have a convention if we have no people? Some people think that we can have a people's convention without the people being there. I think that that was the case in 1777. (applause).

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary to institute a ten-point program. A ten-point program that is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program. We feel that we are threatened, the people are threatened, with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant. Not only in this country, but throughout the world. And the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation. But until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive, so, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten-Point Program is a survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words, it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy, with a mind that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have community health programs. We have a busing program. We call it the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners. Because we realize that the fascist regime who operate the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and the parents and friends to the prisons, they can expose the treachery of the fascist. So this too is a survival program.

We must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here, then, of course, revolution cannot be achieved because the people make revolution. The people make revolution and only the people. The theme of our People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At our convention, we will present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit, or perhaps the kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. And you'll need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few protein tablets in order to last until you can get to the shore, until you can get to that oasis where you can be happy and healthy . If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then possibly you will not exist. At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. Matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality and murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we are not going to sit around, we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because a reactionary set of conditions will cause his death. (applause). I repeat, if we do nothing we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing we are accepting the situation. The situation is a condition of reaction, so, therefore, a reaction will cause our death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw. (applause).

Yes, because we feel that where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that we can change all of the conditions, that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary enthusiasm and it is called the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee a victory. We say that if we must die, then we will die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The revolutionary suicide that says that if I am put down, if I am driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I would much rather be driven out with a stick, because with the broom, when I am driven out, it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with the stick, then at least I can remain with the dignity of a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the death of a dog. (applause). Of course, our real desire is to live. Our real desire is to live, but we will not be cowed, we will not be intimidated.

I would like to explain to you the method that the Black Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position, and, also more than that, I would like to give to you a framework or a process of thinking that might help us solve the problems and the contradictions that exist today. Today the world is very complicated. There are many things in operation at the same time. It reminds me of a little saying, "When I was a boy, what was so was so, what was not was not. Now I am a man, things have changed alot. Some things nearly so, others, nearly not. Is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on, really what is going on divorced from our attitudes and emotions that we usually project into a situation. In other words, that we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma; we will let the facts speak for themselves. But we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to good use to serve our interests. So we will become subjective when we apply the knowledge that we received from the external world using the scientific method. But at that time, we will admit that we will be subjective, because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrating theory with practice. And this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.

Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us revisionist; they call us hoodlums. They call us everything but the child of man.But tonight we will answer those people. And I would hope that all of them have a front seat because I would like to have a dialectical argument with them. (applause).

You know, in order to understand a group of forces operating at the same time, science developed what they call a discipline. One of the characteristics or properties of this discipline is, first, to be disinterested. Not to be disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem, but disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not promote an outcome, you just want to know the facts. The other thing is that science starts off with a basic premise that is very important. And from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with a belief because it is very difficult to test your first premise. But after we agree or stipulate a first premise we then can have an intelligent argument because then we would just require each other to be consistent down to a valid conclusion. So tonight I would ask you to stipulate that an external world exists. An external world exists independently of us, in spite of whether we are around or not. In other words, the external world is a reality. The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change, or transformation, rather. In other words, flux, flux, all is flux. After we agree to that, we can go on with our discussion.

You know, the scientific method relies heavily on a concept they call empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future, that it only tells you about the past. In other words, it can only tell you about what you gained through observation and experience and that is always past tense. So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated a theory developed by Emanuel Kant called rationale. Kant called his process of reasoning pure reason because Kant's reasoning did not depend on the external world. It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon dealing with symbols in such a way where you manipulated them to come up with a conclusion based upon reason. For an example, If the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, I will see the sky. There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the existence of the sky. I said "if." And that is why with rationale we do not have to depend upon the external world. With empiricism we can tell very little about the future. So what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and came up with the concept called dialectical materialism, because after we integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking, not only are we in touch with that world outside us, but we can also explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of the phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict, attempting to reach some harmony.

You know also, that Marx, as a social scientist, criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena, or part of phenomena, by taking it out of its environment, isolating it and putting it into a category, and not letting anyone know about the fact that once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words, a discipline such as sociology where we would study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart, without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that is connected to the group, we will get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.

In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think that they say that when atoms collide, that they divide into protons and nutrons, if I remember correctly. What happened to the atom? It was transformed. In the social world the same thing happens, or a similar thing. We can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two cultures collide a process occurs or a condition occurs that I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of the contact. Well Marx called the social forces, when the social forces collided, or classes, he called that a contradiction. In the physical world, when physical forces collide sometimes we call it just that, a collision. For example, when two cars meet head on, trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed. Sometimes other things happen. Matter of fact, had those two cars been turned back to back and sped off in opposite directions, they would not be having a contradiction, they would be contrary, covering different spaces at different times. Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other. We miss each other because, in the first place, we think we're having a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example, I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red, and we would argue all day thinking we're having a contradiction when actually we're being contrary. When people argue, when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction, and we hope that if we argue long enough, provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope that we can have some kind of synthesis. And tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that the mistake is either some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact, in spite of their claim to scholarly research, in spite of their claim to follow the discipline of dialectical materialism. They fail to search deeper, like the scientist is required to do, to get beyond the apparent and come up with the more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I'll explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party (applause) because we follow the dialectical method and we also integrate theory with practice. What we are not: we are not mechanical Marxists and we're not historical materialists. Some people think they are Marxists when actually are following the thought of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to the past. They're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that edges upon dogma and what we sometimes call, flunkeyism.(applause).

Marx attempted to set up a framework. Just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain phenomena, and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions, then you try to move on and apply that framework to other things, or those principles. And you're not afraid of the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective. Because you realize the method that you're using, if you're using the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it the last time, because then that's history. And if things are in a constant state of change, we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, words that we used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be

useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe the passed event then we might confuse people. They might think that things are static and therefore contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.

In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algieria, wrote the pamphlet and it was called, "On Panther Ideology." In that work, Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletarians in this country at this time, or the industrial worker, does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpenproletarians, carry that revolutionary potentiality and in fact would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society, and, therefore, will act as the vanguard. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor, that it is impossible. How can the Lumpenproletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority? And in fact how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out a successful social revolution? I would agree that it is necessary for the people to carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people, I would agree to that. In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that in this country that it would take a popular force to achieve the transformation. But I also will agree that the lumpenproletarians are actually the minority in the country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. It only goes to show that what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes we think a thing is really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So what we will do is tear this thing apart; we will analyze it. That in the Soviet Union, in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them proletarians. Lenin, using Marx's theory, saw the trends because he was not a historical materialist he was a dialectical materialist, and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever-changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline. That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary property to carry out a revolution that ressembled a socialist revolution.

In this country, the Black Panther Party taking careful note of the dialectical method, taking careful note of the social trends and the ever-changing nature of things, see that while the Lumpenproletarians are the minority and the proletarians, the majority, and also that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we'll start with automation, go to cybernation, and then go from there probably into technocracy. As I came into town I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they would go on developing their technological machinery. They would go on developing their technological machinery because at the capitalist's hands and the ruling circle's hands, he's not interested in the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always followed. That is to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible, unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. (applause). At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because the trend is that technology's making leaps. It made a leap all the way to the moon. So therefore I say that if the ruling circle remains in power, the proletarian worker, the proletarian working class, will definitely be on the decline, because they will be unemployables and, therefore, swell the ranks of the Lumpens, who are unemployables. Unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle. And this is why we say that the lumpenproletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and in fact will carry the revolution out probably, and, in the near future, will be the popular class, the majority. Of course, I would not like to see all of my people unemployed or unemployables. But, being objective, because we're objective, because we're dialectical materialists we must acknowledge the facts and that's all we're doing.

You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly he said society goes from a slave class to a feudalistic class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure, and finally to Communism. Or in other words, from socialist state to capitalistic state to non-state, Communism. I think we can all agree, and I would ask for a stipulation, that virtually the slave class in the world has been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, the slave in the world no longer exists as a significant force, and if we could agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear just be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the proletarian or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course the people would not disappear, they would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle would not need him, and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production, then he will be called an unemployable or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical, I think that's dialectical. I think it would be very strange to say only the slave class could disappear.

You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said this. He said, "One thing I'm not: I'm not a Marxist." In other words, he was trying to warn, he was trying to tell Progressive Labor not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want.(applause).

After taking those things under consideration, we see that as time changes and as the world is transformed, that we need some new definitions to the situation. Because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will get a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world is static. I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact, they looked at toil,working for your necessities, as somewhat of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory after he applied a practice, put Marx's analysis into practice, was geared to get rid of the proletarians. In other words, that by the proletarian class or the working class seizing the

means of production, they would plan in such a way so that they would be free from toil. Matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds like to me that he saw a proletarian working class transformed so that they could have that free block of time so that they could indulge in productive creativity, so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation, so that they could have the happiness, the freedom and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.

At this time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this, and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile.So I'm saying that in spite of the criticism that we've received from certain people, we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same. That is because people would not disappear, not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, therefore , we need to lift their consciousness so they can deal with the ruling circle. So, therefore, the Black Panther Party says it's perfectly correct to organize the proletarians because after he's kicked out of the factory, because he'll be called unemployable or lumpen, doesn't stop doesn't transform his interest, his interest is to live, and in order to live he has to eat. So his best interest is to seize the machinery that he has produced so that he can produce the abundance so he and his bretheren can live. (applause). Now, I'm saying, that we will not wait until the proletarian becomes the lumpenproletarian to educate him. Today we must lift the consciousness of the people so that we can get a clear picture of what is to be done. We need to know that, because the wind is rising and the rivers flow, times are getting hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to our mother's womb, nor can we go back to 1917.

As the United States, or what I like to call North America, was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire, because an empire is a nation transformed, it caused a total change in the world because no part of a thing interrelated can change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States, or North America, became an empire it changed the whole composition, it changed the whole phenomena in the world. There were other nations in the world. But empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire, or the imperialist, controls all other nations. Now some time ago in history there existed a phenomena we called, well I call, primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world. But in fact they did not know all of the world so, therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land. In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or affect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also see that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give raise to one thing, it might crush other things or even itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of the negation. In other words, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a socialist society we would have to have some centralization of the wealth, we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth, we would have to have some harmony between the people. So the United States' ruling circle, while it rules the whole world, and when I say nation, I will roughly give you some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. First: economic idependence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety.

In 1966, we called ourselves, we called the Party, a black nationalist Party. We called ourselves black nationalist because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more , we found that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that ino order to be free ---and this is what we really want, to be free---we thought the nation would make us free--we saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and, therefore, we had to unite with the people of the world, so we called ourselves Internationalists. We sought solidarity with the people of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything's in a constant state of change and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, that nationhood did not exist, because they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Because their self-determination was destroyed, because their economic determination was destroyed, because their cultural determination was tranformed---and I would like for you to strike "destroyed" , I would like for you to put in "transformed." Excuse me---all of the nation was transformed at the hand of the imperialist and the ruling circle for the interest of the imperialist. So we found that in order to be an internationalist, we had to be also a nationalist, or at least acknowledge nationhood. So all internationalists are also nationalists, because, if I understand that word, "inter" means some inter-relationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now if no nation is in existence and in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalist, we we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact we will try to shed light upon it, and we will define the new transformation and the pheno mena, and we will call ourselves "intercommunalists." Because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. (applause).

So tonight, the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim Internationalism and support Intercommunalism (applause). We have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information that they had, that when non-state finally came to be a reality, it would be caused, or ushered in by the people and by Communism. A strange thing happened. The ruling reactionary circle through the process of being an imperialist, transformed the world into what we call reactionary intercommunalism. They layed seize upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by the institutions in their

land. What the Black Panther Party would like to establish to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of revolutionary intercommunalism. This would be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world.

We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens, even cuturally, to a Chines community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a Black community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa. a Black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference. (applause)

So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished, but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions which serve the people who live there. It differ from a nation, because a community evolves around a greater . structure that we usually call the state, and the state has certain control over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happen to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time, so there's still something to be done. I said earlier, I spoke about the negation of the negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also I would say, socialism would not exist any place in the world. I would also say that socialism does not exist any place in the world. Because socialism would require a socialist state, and if state does not exist how could socialism exist? So what, how do we fefine certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we describe certain progressive progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the North Korean people? How do we define certain communities as the Vietnamese people, North and the Pr ovisional Government in the South? How do we explain these communities, if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood We say this: we say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied, just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground or preparation for the liberation of the world, the seizing of the wealth from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved. (applause)

Now, I'm going to start a question and answer period because I could go on for hours and hours, and I lose track of time. But I want to say this first. I stated that in the United States socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States, you would have to have a redistribution of wealth not on a national level, but an international level, not on an international level, but on an intercommunal level, and this is because how can we say that we have accomplished revolution and redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America when the ruling circle itself is guilty of *trespass de bonas as per tadas*. That is, they've taken away the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America, and used them as their very own. That is a tort. (applause)

Now, remember in 1917, when the revolution occured, yo u had a redistribution of wealth on an national level because nation existed, you see. Now, if you have to think in terms of planning an economy on a world wide level, on an intercommunal level, that says something. That says that the people have been ripped off and it's very much like the people in one country being ripped off. And when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this: we say how reparation will not even serve because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, their raw materials have also been invested, their raw materials have been made into a technological machine -- the people are responsible for that -- so the people of the world will have to have control of that, not for X amount of time, not for a limited amount, but it's theirs. So all I can see in order to plan a real intercommunal economy we will have to acknowledge how the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that some time ago, nations could exist because technology had not adbanced to the level it is now. Some people will argue that nations still exist because of the cultural differences. By way of definition, just for funtional argument, culture is a collection, or learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States, Black People, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here, and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms, but by and large you can see the transformation. This was achieved through a long stay, but also through the highly technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. We see that the ruling circle has also launched satelites in order to put the beam across the world to indoctrinate the world. We see that while there might be what we call cultural differences, the difference is not a qualitative difference but a quantitative difference. In other words, that if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are going now, that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt Western values. I think Japan is a good example. And the difference between people in fact are getting very small. But again it's at the interest of the ruling circle. I don't believe that history can be backtracked, you see. So if the world is really that interconnected, then we would have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free, then they would control the institutions of their community and also have some form of representation in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States will have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world,, would have to first return it. So I don't see where we could talk about socialism where we're talking abour world distribution. I think this is what Marx talked about when he talked about non-state. I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago. And he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa. But he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much. But when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something to his ear that he cherished. That was a small transitor radio that was zeroed in on the British broadcasting network. So, what I'm trying to say is that the mass media plus the development of transportation makes it possible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities, as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get from San Francisco to here? It only takes ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges war, they call them

"police actions." They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are rioting (applause) What I'm saying is that the ruling circle accepts, they realize what they have done. They know that it's one world, but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know because a short time ago, in Detroit, a community was under seige, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid seize on that community and that house and they used the weapons, the same weapons they use in Vietnam, matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens. We see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools. And they're there for the same purpose that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. We say that it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where the power is. We want the power for the people. (applause)

I said earlier, and I strayed away, that the theory of the negation of the negation is very valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the resistance always seek the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective society. And some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical Marxism, or historical materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism, develop a capitalistic base, and finally go into socialism? They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism, the black community in Oakland or San Fransisco cannot develope capitalism because the imperialists have already pre-empted the field, he has already centralized the wealth. So therefore, in order to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community, and then move on him as a collective force. (applause)

You know, we've had long arguments with people. We used to call ourselves, before we became conscious, a disperse collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, and they told me how can you possibly be a colony? In order to be a colony, you have to have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're a community. You're a disperse collection of communities. And because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight I would like to accept the criticism and say that you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as Africa represents a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chines people are a collection of communities----a disperse collection of communities, you see. (applause) Because they have no superstructure. Or they do have a superstructure---the superstructure of the industrial base that they labor to produce was all put on Wall Street. And we would all agree that once a particular land or a particular people, centralize the wealth and creat a capitalist base, we won't find it in every single community, you see, because every single community would not have the resources because it's already been centralized. A distorted form of collectivity, you see. Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So after the things are collected, then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off? And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces black capitalism and say that all we can do is liberate our community, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the people of the world must unite as a one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away, because we know that in sociology we say that when change takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but we s will linger with revolutionary intercommunalism until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought, until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking, and until such time that people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil, until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is essentially human, that will serve the people instead of serve some god. You see, (applause) it will be necessary to do that because we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of changing set of conditions. So because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function togetherein harmony. This will be necessary.

So tonight, I think I've covered some of what I had to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that. I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, asked me to petition you, to ask you to prepare a place for him because he would like to re= turn home. Appaluse) And also I would like to thank the people of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to preside in their liberated communities, in their liberated territory. (applause) So, They've actually set the example for us, we know what we have to do in order to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities. (applause)